

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 USIA-06 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00

SS-15 SP-02 NSC-05 IO-10 AID-05 L-02 /067 W

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R 191445Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1696

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 1659

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OEX PINT CY

SUBJ: CYPRUS FULBRIGHT PROGRAM

REF: A) NICOSIA 0715; B. STATE 041975; C) NICOSIA 1037;

D) STATE 063496; E) NICOSIA 1098; F) NICOSIA 1345

1. SUMMARY: MISSION HAS BEEN ATTEMPTING FOR OVER THREE MONTHS TO DEVISE MODUS OPERANDI WHEREBY FULBRIGHT PROGRAM COULD CONTINUE TO FUNCTION IN DIVIDED CYPRUS. NOW FEEL THAT IN SPITE CURRENT STONEWALLING TACTICS ON PART OF TURKISH CYPRIOTS, WE MUST MOVE AHEAD TO INSURE CONTINUED FUNCTIONING OF PROGRAM WHICH SUPPORTS A BASIC USG POLICY OBJECTIVE. POST PROPOSES THREE ALTERNATIVES AND REQUESTS DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, WE HAVE BEEN STRUGGLING SINCE JANUARY TO FIND SOME COMPROMISE SOLUTION THAT WOULD ALLOW FULBRIGHT PARTICIPATION BY BOTH GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS. AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY NOTED (REF A, C), HARDLINERS IN TURKISH CYPRIOT EDUCATION AND POLITICS ARE DETERMINED TO MAKE THIS ISSUE ONE MORE IN SERIES OF ACTIONS EMPHASIZING THEIR SEPARATE AND EQUAL POLITICAL NATURE. SUCH THINKING ABHORS IDEA OF ANY COOPERATION WITH GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY AND ESPECIALLY ANY COOPERATION IN WHICH TURKS AND GREEKS ARE NOT EQUALLY REPRESENTED ON ONE-FOR-ONE BASIS. PROBLEM FURTHER COMPLICATED BY USG'S INABILITY TO DEAL OFFICIALLY WITH ANY TURKISH CYPRIOT BOARD CLAIMING OFFICIAL STATUS UNDER "TURKISH FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS". AS LONG  
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AS FULBRIGHT PROGRAM OPERATES UNDER EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT WITH

GOC, EMBASSY MUST BE EXTREMELY CAREFUL ABOUT DEALING WITH INSTITUTIONS NOT RECOGNIZED BY THIS GOVERNMENT.

3. DEPARTMENT IS AWARE THAT WE HAVE BEEN TRYING TO CONVINCE TURKS TO CONTINUE IN FULBRIGHT BY POINTING OUT ADVANTAGES OF THEIR PARTICIPATION (REF C, E, F). BUT, AS SO OFTEN HAPPENS ON BOTH SIDES OF LINE HERE, ASSURANCES GIVEN BY HIGHLEVEL LEADERS HAVE BEEN IGNORED OR RELEGATED TO OBLIVION BY LOWER LEVEL FUNCTIONARIES. CASE IN POINT HAS BEEN DENKTASH'S LATEST RESPONSE TO OUR REQUEST FOR OFFICIAL REPLY TO OUR PROPOSALS (REF F); IT HAS NOW BEEN ONE MONTH SINCE "PRESIDENT" DENKTASH ORDER HIS "MINISTER OF STATE" (CHELIK) TO PREPARE OFFICIAL AFFIRMATIVE REPLY. REPLY STILL NOT DRAFTED;CHELIK HAS YET TO READ FULBRIGHT BRIEF PREPARED BY TURK CYPRIOT EDUCATION OFFICE. ONLY ACTION TAKEN BY CHELIK HAS BEEN TO REFER MATTER TO JUNIOR MEMBER OF HIS STAFF FOR STUDY. STAFF MEMBER GIVEN NO GUIDANCE RE "AFFIRMATIVE" REPLY TO AMBASSADOR'S LETTER ON FULBRIGHT PROGRAM. ATTEMPT TO GET DENKTASH TO DISLODGE ISSUE FROM BOUWLS OF BUREAURACY, THOUGH APPEAL TO HIS UNDER SECRETARY, WAS UNSUCCESSFUL: DENKTASH MAINTAINED HE WOULD NOT MAKE DECISION WITHOUT STAFF RECOMMENDATION.

4. FROM CONVERSATIONS WITH MEMBERS OF DENKTASH'S IMMEDIATE STAFF AND WITH TURK EDUCATION OFFICIALS, IT CLEAR THAT TURK CYPRIOTS DO NOT ATTACH MUCH URGENCY TO RESTORATION OF FULBRIGHT PROGRAM AND THAT ALL OFFICIALS, INCLUDING DENKTASH, ARE AFRAID TO MAKE DECISION WHICH COULD BE EXPLOITED BY THEIR POLITICAL OPPONENTS. TURK CYPRIOTS ARE NOT PREPARED TO MAKE "CONCESSIONS" WHICH MAY PREJUDICE THEIR BROADER POLITICAL NEGOTIATING STANCE. ALMOST EVERYTHING -- EVEN FULBRIGHT PROGRAMS -- CONSTITUTES IN TURKISH MINDS A POSSIBLE PRECEDENT THAT MAY EFFECT THEIR STATUS IN MAKEUP OF ANY FUTURE CYPRIOT STATE. IN SHORT, WE MAY NEVER RECEIVE UNEQUIVOCAL RESPONSE.

5. FULBRIGHT PROGRAM HERE, HOWEVER, IS IN POSITION OF NOT BEING ABLE TO WAIT ANY LONGER. WE HAVE ALREADY LOST CHANCE TO SELECT STUDENT CANDIDATES FOR COMING FALL AND SHOULD NOW BEGIN PREPARATIONS FOR A STUDENT COMPETITION FOR JANUARY 1976 ACCEPTANCES. MORE FUNDAMENTALLY, WE CANNOT HOLD A MEETING OF OUR BOARD OF DIRECTORS (BEFORE WHICH WE HAVE SEVERAL URGENT  
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ITEMS OF BUSINESS) UNTIL WE MAKE A BASIC POLICY DECISION ON FUTURE FULBRIGHT ACTIVITIES IN CYPRUS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN VIEW CONTINUED TURK CYPRIOT REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE, PRESSURE IS MOUNTING FOR US TO PROGRAM ONLY ON GREEK SIDE. GREEK CYPRIOT BOARD MEMBERS WOULD REGARD A USG REFUSAL TO DO SO AS UNFAIR AND AS AN ABROGATION OF EXECUTIVE AGREEMENT.

6. IN VIEW PRESENT QUANDARY AND LACK OF RESPONSE FROM TURKS

MISSION SUGGESTS FOLLOWING THREE OPTIONS: (A) PUTTING ENTIRE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM ACTIVITIES INTO HIBERNATION UNTIL CYPRUS PROBLEM SORTS ITSELF OUT SUFFICIENTLY TO PERMIT RESUMPTION, OR POSSIBLY RENEGOTIATION OF BASIC AGREEMENT; (B) INFORMING TURKS THAT WE CAN NO LONGER WAIT FOR THEIR REPLY AND THAT WE WILL PROCEED WITH OUR TRADITIONAL PROGRAM IN GREEK SECTOR UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THEY WISH TO PARTICIPATE; (C) PROCEEDING WITH PROGRAM ACTIVITIES FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES CONDUCTED FROM NEUTRAL UN LOCATION ACCESSIBLE TO BOTH SIDES AND MAKING SUCH ACTIVITIES KNOWN AND AVAILABLE TO TURKS WHETHER OR NOT THEY WISH TO PARTICIPATE.

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 USIA-06 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00

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R 191445Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1697

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 1659

7. ALTHOUGH OPTION (A) MAY HAVE APPEAL FROM DEPARTMENT'S VIEWPOINT OF DIVERTING SCARCE FUNDS ELSEWHERE, NO USG OBJECTIVES IN CYPRUS WOULD BE SERVED. WE WOULD KEEP ADMINISTRATIVE BUDGET IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN REDUCED FULBRIGHT STAFF AND OFFICE TO HANDLE NON-SPONSORED STUDENT COUNSELING, AID/AUB PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION, AND PRIVATE EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS (INSTITUTE OF CYPRIOT STUDIES, ETC.) BUT FOREGO BINATIONAL PROGRAM FUNDS UNTIL CYPRIOT POLITIC DUST SETTLES. THIS COULD BE A VERY LONG TIME: CYPRUS PROBLEM HAS BEEN FESTERING FOR 12 YEARS; IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS FOR RESOLUTION ARE BLEAK. FURTHERMORE, CUTTING GREEK CYPRIOTS OFF FROM SCHOLARSHIP AND TEACHER TRAINING EXPOSURE IN U.S. WOULD WORK AGAINST MAJOR USG POLICY OBJECTIVE OF SUPPORTING AND ENCOURAGING PRO-WESTERN ELEMENTS HERE (SEE RECENT MISSION AND USIS POLICY PAPERS).

8. OPTION B HAS ADVANTAGE OF BEING SIMPLER IN ADMINISTRATION AND MAKING GREEK CYPRIOTS HAPPIER BY REMOVING ANY ELEMENT OF

COMPROMISE. IT HAS DISADVANTAGE, HOWEVER, OF MAKING IT THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT FOR FACE-CONSCIOUS TURKS TO RETURN TO FULBRIGHT PROGRAM EVENTUALLY.

9. OPTION C IS POST'S PREFERENCE SINCE IT ALLOWS US TO PROCEED WITH IMPORTANT PROGRAM MATTERS AND GET BENEFITS FROM GREEK CYPRIOT PARTICIPATION. ALSO PUTS ONUS FOR NON-PARTICIPATION SQUARELY ON TURK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION AND ALLOWS THEM TO RESUME PARTICIPATION WITHOUT OFFICIALLY AGREEING TO A "COMPRO-MISE" IN THEIR POLITICAL POSITIONS. COMMISSION WOULD CONDUCT ITS MEETINGS AND ANY BUSINESS INVOLVING BOTH COMMUNITIES FROM CONFIDENTIAL

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UN TERRITORY OF LEDRA PALACE HOTEL. (THIS HAS ALREADY WORKED FOR ADMINISTRATION OF NON-FULBRIGHT EXAMINATION - STATE 101680). WE WOULD INFORM TURKISH EDUCATION OFFICE OF ACTIVITIES AS WELL AS ADVERTISE OPPORTUNITIES IN TURKISH NEWSPAPERS HOPING TURKS WOULD CHOOSE TO PARTICIPATE.

10. WE CAN BE CERTAIN THAT PROSPECTIVE TURK CYPRIOT SCHOLARSHIP CANDIDATES WOULD EXERT PRESSURE ON ADMINISTRATION TO ALLOW THEM ENTER COMPETITION. FULBRIGHT PROGRAM HAS GOOD TRACK RECORD OF CHOOSING CANDIDATES ON BASIS OF MERIT AND THIS IS RECOGNIZED IN BOTH COMMUNITIES. TURK CYPRIOTS ARE HUNGRY FOR POST-GRADUATE EDUCATION ABROAD WHICH FEW CAN AFFORD WITHOUT SCHOLARSHIP ASSISTANCE. IF TURK CYPRIOT OFFICIALS INSIST ON BOYCOTT, RESULT WOULD BE ALL-GREEK PANEL -- THEIR DECISION, NOT OURS, WHICH COULD BE REVERSED WITHOUT INORDINATE LOSS OF FACE. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WHEN TURKS SEE PROGRAM GOING AHEAD WITHOUT THEM THEY WILL QUIETLY REJOIN. IN ANY CASE, TO CONTINUE WAITING FOR A REPLY THAT MAY NEVER COME MAKES LITTLE SENSE. AFTER MAKING LONG EFFORTS, POST FEELS WE MUST "EITHER FISH OR CUT BAIT": BEGIN A PROGRAM OR RELEASE FUNDS FOR OTHER COUNTRIES. WE HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT DEPARTMENT WILL CONCUR WITH (C).

11. REQUEST REPLY SOONEST.

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